Maharajah in the White House—*Bruce Catton*

THE Nation

January 31, 1953

The Red Purges

A Decade of Party Decay

BY MARK GAYN

Why the Jews?

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

Josephson's Sidney Hillman—*Reviewed by Frances Perkins*

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

Private School No. 1

Indianapolis

ALLEN ZOLL'S dream school, or an approximation of it, went on trial recently before the Indiana superintendent of public instruction. Pupils of Private School No. 1 at Geneva in Adams County took turns at answering questions in hearings held to determine whether the instruction they received in their Amish school from an unlicensed teacher was equivalent to that offered by the public school in their community. Little Amish girls in prayer bonnets and Amish boys with page hair cuts spelled words, solved arithmetic problems, and read from a primer. But their testimony was in vain; the decision was based on the number of hours of instruction and the licensing question, and was adverse.

The school was founded last year by a group of Amish families who objected to the public-school practice of passing all pupils to the next higher grade instead of failing the slow learners. The Amish Mennonites do not send their children to school after they are sixteen or beyond the eighth grade if they can avoid it. Other Mennonites keep less to themselves and the young people go to school and college. The Amish succeed in remaining aloof from their neighbors largely because they deny their children schooling and "worldly" contacts beyond the eighth grade.

The curriculum of Private School No. 1 consists of the three R's, history, geography, Bible study, spelling, and a cappella singing in a vernacular which is neither high nor low German. There is no physical training involving gym suits and shower baths, no home economics, no farm, shop, or industrial training, no general science, art, instrumental music, or hygiene. Most of the books used are those approved for public schools, but in method as in curriculum there are no frills—no motion pictures, no field trips, no clubs or class plays.

The schoolhouse is an isolated frame building, a converted "summer kitchen," heated by a stove, without electricity or plumbing. No Washington Crossing the Delaware hangs on the walls; no flag is displayed. These people, like Jehovah's Witnesses, require no salutes. Control rests in a board which says it will try to meet state requirements rather than emigrate to southern Tennessee or elsewhere in search of religious freedom.

The state has nothing particular against the Geneva Amish. It has proceeded with the hearings under the pressure of a Citizens' Committee made up of a dozen or so business men. The committee is preoccupied, as citizens' committees often are, with patriotic symbolism. The lack of a flag in the schoolhouse makes its members uneasy. They are distressed by the Amish record on conscription. According to their spokesman, who puts out a weekly paper devoted to attacking the sect and distributed free, they want to liberate the Amish young from the ways of their benighted parents and secure for them freedom to study, to choose a vocation and to pursue it. Citing a Supreme Court decision against multiple marriages for Mormons, the spokesman contends that enforced ignorance is as inimical to the public welfare as polygamy.

The Citizens' Committee has succeeded in getting a similar committee organized in nearby Jay County. Fed by its propaganda, the resentment which crystallized in an attempt to burn down Private School No. 1 is spreading.

The quarrel of the Citizens' Committee with cultural dualism is probably due as much to economic grievances as to religious intolerance. The farm country around Geneva has seen an influx of Amish until the township now contains about four hundred of them. In spite of old-style equipment they prosper and being exceedingly thrifty always have ready cash for large purchases, chiefly livestock. They are not customers for cars, gas, tires, electrical appliances, household furnishings, or, to any great extent, for clothing and food. Consequently they are regarded in some quarters as a blight on the town. Their womenfolk are satisfied to live without electricty or other modern conveniences. Some people say it is better in the Amish country to be a horse than a woman.

The Citizens' Committee maintains that the Amish, for all their pious forms, are no more righteous than other people. Such judgments are of course no business of the state. But the state has to decide whether it will compel a religious minority to conform to educational standards repugnant to their beliefs.

ELIZABETH TOOHY

[The author is a free-lance writer who contributes occasionally to The Nation.*]*

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

Due Process and Political Offenders

The conviction of thirteen Communist Party leaders in New York and the Supreme Court's refusal to review the convictions in the Baltimore Smith act cases—Justices Black and Douglas dissenting—make it painfully clear that in the present climate of opinion fair trials and the right of appeal do not provide adequate safeguards against miscarriages of justice in political prosecutions. By all accounts Judge Edward J. Dimock gave the defendants in the New York case a fair trial. Under his instructions the jury apparently deliberated with care, painstakingly reviewing the evidence against each defendant. Yet the fact remains that those convicted were minor functionaries—"lesser Communists" the government called them—linked to the conspiracy to overthrow the government by force and violence by evidence that was hardly more impressive than that offered in the Baltimore case (see The Smith Act—Baltimore Version, by Frank J. Donner, *The Nation*, November 8, 1952).

Since it is now clear that even minor officials of the Communist Party can be uniformly if not automatically convicted under the Smith act, will the new Republican Administration proceed next against mere members, then against members of so-called "front" organizations, and finally against individual dissenters? And if it does, will the Supreme Court finally decide to call a halt to the chain-reaction process which it set in motion with its decision in the Dennis case?

De Gasperi's Life Insurance

After days of violent debate the Italian electoral-reform bill won the approval of the Chamber of Deputies. The government hopes it will pass in the Senate before the general election scheduled for next May or June. Not even the eloquence of Premier de Gasperi, however, could make it a popular measure. To kill it the trade unions staged a token general strike, bringing public transportation in Rome to a standstill, and in the Chamber opposing deputies exchanged insults and blows until the President had to suspend the session. In Bologna, Turin, Milan, Ravenna, and other cities many huge demonstrations were held against it in spite of hundreds of arrests.

Neither the government nor its press makes any attempt to conceal the purpose of the bill. Italy is the chief Communist stronghold in Western Europe. Together with the left Socialists the Communists will control an imposing number of votes in the coming elections. On the right fascism, like Nazism in Germany, is flourishing. De Gasperi fears that a double assault, from left and right, will bring down his regime. Apparently the new conceptions of representative democracy provide a large margin for maneuvering. In its electoral "reform" of two years ago France provided an excellent model which De Gasperi has faithfully copied. The trick is to change the electoral law in such a way as to give a bonus of additional seats to the party, or group of parties, which wins more than fifty per cent of the votes. This is the cheapest and surest form of political life insurance for the government coalition.

Militant Asian Socialism

British Socialists should have sent Aneurin Bevan rather than Clement Attlee to the recent conference of Asian Socialists at Rangoon, writes our London correspondent. In a conference debate on colonialism Mr. Attlee thought it necessary to express sharp disappointment with the emotional antagonism displayed by Asian delegates toward Western policy. He sat down amid stony silence.

The meeting demonstrated that the issue of colonialism has thrust Asian Socialists, who represent almost 10 per cent of the voting strength of non-Communist Asia, and the overwhelming bulk of European Socialists into different camps. On the question of Indo-China, for instance, all Asian Socialists are anti-Bao Dai; Western Socialists are, at least officially, pro-Bao Dai. Regarding Tunisia, the Asians found the French Socialists hesitant and apologetic. And to the Asians, the British Socialists seemed much too closely tied up with British economic interests.

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Nor is colonialism the only issue dividing the camps. Eager to revolutionize the economies of their countries, Asians are plumping for a radical "democratized Marxism" and rejecting the "left-wing liberalism" advocated by their Western colleagues. Asian Socialists, moreover, prefer neutralism to alliance with either side in the cold war. The campaign in Korea may have convinced the Kremlin that aggression does not pay, but it has frightened Asian Socialists. They see Korea and Indo-China being systematically devastated with everything short of atom bombs; they prefer, therefore, to handle their own Communists by themselves. Even exposed areas like Burma think it a lesser risk to stand alone.

Mr. Ferrer and Mr. Chaplin

The Fox West Coast theater chain has canceled a scheduled opening of Charles Chaplin's "Limelight" in response to a threat by the American Legion to picket the film. Since "Limelight" has been showing for three months in New York and other cities and is not in any sense a "political" film, the Legion's action appears to be aimed not at the film but at Charles Chaplin. It is an attempt to force Mr. Chaplin to say and do certain things that the Legion wants him to do and say.

A brief review of the related case of José Ferrer will clarify matters. On December 27 the Legion announced from Hollywood that it "disapproved" of Ferrer's film "Moulin Rouge." This was after the picture's West Coast première had been picketed by nine legionnaires, most of them members of the un-American Activities Committee of the Legion's 17th District. Mr. Ferrer then wired the Legion's National Commander that he would be glad to join in the veterans' "fight against communism." A few days later Mr. Ferrer issued a statement denouncing Paul Robeson for having accepted the Stalin peace prize. On January 2 Leonard Lyons printed this interesting item in his column: "As a result of José Ferrer's anti-Red statements, the American Legion opposes any picketing of 'Moulin Rouge,' and Victor Lasky has withdrawn his Ferrer article written for the Legion magazine." On January 16 Mr. Lyons announced that Ferrer had "ironed out all his problems with the American Legion at a St. Regis luncheon with three Legion officials."

Mr. Ferrer knuckled under and the Legion's pickets were removed; Mr. Chaplin did not and his film will be picketed. This is not censorship; it is political terrorism. It has, of course, a disastrous effect on American films. "Hollywood," said Mr. Chaplin from London, "has succumbed to thought control and the illegal methods of high-pressure groups, which means the end of the American motion-picture industry and its world influence. I am afraid Hollywood is going to need me long before I need Hollywood." We agree.

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The President's Prayer

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S inaugural address was general in content and hortatory in manner; in effect, a kind of preachment to the nation and the world. It was more remarkable for what it failed to say than for what it said. Seldom has an inaugural address so completely ignored the domestic scene or said so little that was concrete about policy and program. Domestic problems, so the President explained, are "dwarfed by, and often even created by, this question that involves all humankind"—the question of peace. The inference is clear that he is satisfied with the state of the home front or, if not entirely satisfied, convinced that whatever problems exist in this area would be quickly solved if the larger issue could be settled. But this hardly squares with his recognition that we need "markets in the world for the surpluses of our farms and our factories" or with the contention that "whatever America hopes to bring to pass in the world must first come to pass in the heart of America." While emphasizing that freedom is the wave of the future, the President had nothing to say about the curtailment of civil liberties in this country. "Strength," "stamina," "faith," and "production" were words which kept bobbing up, "moral stamina" being curiously equated with "more energy and more productivity." The emphasis on production coupled with the failure to mention the possible need for more effective distribution and for measures to check inflation imply that President Eisenhower is pleased with the state of the nation.

More troubling is the evangelical certainty with which Mr. Eisenhower described the "forces of good and evil" now locked in mortal combat in the world. His attempt to picture this "time of tempest" as a struggle between moral absolutes provided little encouragement for those who believe the alternative to general war is a willingness to negotiate differences. It is unfortunate that the President either did not see or failed to heed some of the comments in George F. Kennan's remarkable address to the Pennsylvania State Bar Association on January 16. The author of the "containment" thesis conceded that where "great human differences" are involved, as in Russian-American relations, "it is usually safe to conclude that there has been fault on both sides." It is also tactful to voice this conclusion occasionally when addressing the other side. One can wish that General Eisenhower rather than Mr. Kennan had seen fit to quote John Quincy Adams: America "goes not abroad in search of monsters to destroy."

The President made an eloquent plea for unity between America and its allies. But here, too, we wish that he had recognized with Mr. Kennan that the question of unity exists on two planes, international and domestic. "If we are to have the right kind of domestic unity," Mr. Kennan declared, "then there must be a marked change in the tone and temper of public life. . . . As much as twenty years ago some of us who were concerned with Soviet affairs at posts abroad began pointing up the evidences of Communist exploitation of our civil liberties, and urging vigorous action to keep it under control. . . . Today I must say, again looking at it from the standpoint of one who has been on the Moscow firing line, that my greatest worry has been just the opposite, namely, that through exaggerating the dimensions of this danger and failing to put it in proper perspective with the other problems before us, we may be creating weaknesses in our society greater than anything Communist penetration itself ever was likely to achieve." Nor is there any question but that the domestic aspect of this problem has important international bearings. How calculate the damage the McCarran-Walter act and similar measures have done to the cause of unity abroad?

IN RETROSPECT it may be thought that the most striking aspect of the President's address was his recognition that we have now reached a period in history where "science seems ready to confer upon us, as its final gift, the power to erase human life from this planet." For the atomic era really dawns with this Administration. Roosevelt may have fathered it and Truman was doubtless its midwife, but Eisenhower will be its nursemaid. Yet the President said nothing about the atomic revolution or the bid for control of atomic power that private industry will lay before the new Republican Administration, which is itself so largely dominated by big-business interests. It is this perspective which gives point to Joseph E. Evans's shrewd comment in the *Wall Street Journal* that "the overwhelming question of the industrial development of atomic energy" may provide the "bridge" between the domestic and international aspects of the Eisenhower era. Properly developed and applied, atomic energy could make possible a fantastic compression of historical processes of growth and change; on the other hand, as Mr. Evans suggests, atomic power could suddenly end the Eisenhower era with "a thermoculear bang."

However, the most interesting part of the President's inaugural performance was the "prayer" which preceded the address. The prayer was as clearly Mr. Eisenhower's own composition as the address was not. Unlike the latter, the prayer had a touch of humility about it. The President prayed for "the power to discern clearly right from wrong." He prayed also that cooperation might be "permitted"—McCarthy please note!—and might be the "mutal aim" of those who, under the concept of our Constitution, "hold to differing political beliefs." This "little prayer of my own," as the President characterized it, is, we hope, closer to his intentions and feelings than the address.

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Why the Jews?

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE spreading influence of Communist-inspired anti-Semitism has swelled the flood of refugees pouring into West Berlin and led to the arrest of Jews in East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania. In the West reports multiply of defections from Communist ranks, not only by Jews but by thousands of other members who regard anti-Semitism as a basic betrayal of party tenets—a "deviation" more flagrant than any charged against the "wreckers" and "traitors" of recent purge trials. Whatever its purpose, the Russian attack on Jews has touched off emotions which may well undermine whatever forces in the West are still working for peace.

These are facts which the Kremlin must have discounted in advance. Soviet leaders could not have hoped that the outside world would believe the accusations of plotting and murder, under British-American direction, brought against nine distinguished doctors; still less that it would regard the attack on Jews and Zionists as merely new manifestations of the established practice of the purge. For the singling out of Jews, identified as such, has added a new dimension to the old pattern. Not only does Communist doctrine forbid such discrimination, but Russia's best claim to world approval has been its handling of the many national minorities in its vast area. Purges and repressions, however ruthless or unjustified, have been carried out for political reasons, and Soviet sympathizers have found excuses for them in the harsh dialectic of communism.

By the same logic, no distinctions are allowed within the camp of the faithful: Jew, Mongol, Great Russian all are equal—at least in theory. But the moment the word Jew is placed after the name of an accused man, the theory falls to pieces and with it a large part of the structure of Communist dogma. That this was in the mind of the Kremlin leaders is shown by their use of "Zionist" and "Joint" as tags of identification. But since no informed person believes that Zionists or representatives of the Joint Distribution Committee, as such, are degenerates, murderers, or spies, the labels only exposed the anti-Semitism behind the attacks. And there was no subterfuge in the comment on certain arrested men published last week in *Ukrainian Pravda* of Kiev: "The profound hatred of the people is aroused by all these Kahns and Yaroshetzkys, Greensteins, Kaplans, and Polyakovs."

There are other reasons why the evil effect of the new purge must have been foreseen in Moscow. Chief among them is the horror with which the left, in Europe and throughout the world, together with intelligent people of every political grouping, reacted to the Nazi extermination of the Jews of Europe. The genocide accomplished by Hitler's executioners in the human slaughterhouses of Germany and Eastern Europe has made anti-Semitism a synonym for the greatest crime of this terrible era of mass-murder. On this issue the nerves of the civilized world are raw. For Stalin to conjure up images of new Auschwitzes and new Dachaus would seem sheer recklessness; yet that is what the current anti-Semitism in Russia and its satellites has done.

What motives led Moscow to invite the shocked reaction already becoming evident? Why was the attack launched against the Jews?

No doubt Stalin wants to win the good-will of the Arab states and check any progress there may be toward an eastern Mediterranean pact under NATO. An attack on Jews as Zionists and on Zionists as agents of Western imperialism is well conceived to please the leaders of Arab states still hoping for ultimate victory over Israel.

No doubt he hopes to capitalize on the growing anti-Western feeling in Germany, marked by the recrudescence of Nazi activity on both sides of the line. The announced purge of "cosmopolitans" in the East German Communist hierarchy may foreshadow a closer tie between the party and the "reconstructed" Nazis.

ON ANOTHER page Mark Gayn analyzes the motives underlying the purge as a general method in dictatorships. Some of these motives apply today. There may have been rivalries and top-level plotting that led to Zhdanov's death—and now to the arrest of the nine doctors. That some such dark doings are being concealed behind trappings of "Zionist conspiracy" is possible, but outsiders can only guess.

In addition to these factors there is the mounting fear of war in the whole Soviet area—a fear which has its obvious counterpart, with comparable though milder results, in the United States. Security measures designed both to root out and to arouse fear of subversive elements are evidently on the increase. Moscow's top officials and its trusted agents in the satellite capitals may be embarked upon a purge of all who stand even a little apart from the regime, who have interests, relatives, secondary allegiances outside the Communist state. Girding for war, fearful of spies acting under the orders of Washington—spies financed, perhaps, by that famous $100,000,000 voted for counter-revolutionary operations in Eastern Europe—intent upon establishing an impregnable bloc of states ruled by hard-core Communists, the Kremlin may well be using anti-Semitism for its historic purpose. The Jews, or selected Jews, become scapegoats, symbolizing those genuine "cosmopolitan" qualities which in normal times and democratic countries are recognized as the finest ingredient of patriotism.

We have no desire, at this infinitely dangerous moment, to fan existing hatreds or sharpen heartbreaking anxieties. Many are using the occasion to do both who, by their records, have never defended either the Jews or

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the cause of peace. Yet we view the possible consequences of the current purge with terrible misgivings. What is to happen to the 3,000,000 or more Jews of Eastern Europe? We may guess that the Russians do not intend to set off a chain-reaction of pogroms or to institute a mass purge of Jews. We may hope that Communist discipline will be applied to curb excesses in case official acts against Jews reanimate the traditional mass anti-Semitism of Eastern Europe. But we cannot be *sure* that the ruling Communist groups intend to put on the brakes or could do so if they tried—once the infection spreads. We cannot be sure; and we recall all too vividly the refusal of all but a handful in the West to credit the first reports of anti-Semitic outrages under Hitler. The civilized skepticism of the outside world was largely responsible for the slaughter of millions of European Jews. Dare we rest on our doubts today?

On the contrary, it is essential that just those groups and persons who have urged, and still urge, a negotiated settlement with Russia must take the lead in pointing out the dangers implicit in these first open acts of anti-Semitism. Only a protest joined in by leaders of liberal thought everywhere stands a chance of bringing home to the Russian leaders the international price they will have to pay if they pursue their present course.

We Can Still Negotiate on Germany

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

A READER has written me: "You talk of negotiating with Russia; but Mr. Vishinsky rejected the Indian proposal on Korea. Do you really think there is any subject left on which we could still negotiate?" I think the answer to this question is still—Germany. I have said this often in the last three years and have found support in many indubitably anti-Communist and authoritative quarters. In *World Politics,* published by Princeton University (Volume V, Number 2, January, 1953), for instance, this suggestion is proposed and discussed by S. Bernard, a Belgian, strongly pro-Western, who served under Paul-Henri Spaak in the Belgian Ministry of the Interior. At the moment he is at work on a report on the Schuman Plan for the Institut des Relations Internationales in Brussels, which will be published in book form in Paris early in 1953.

M. Bernard is a right-wing Socialist. His point of view differs fundamentally from mine, inasmuch as he believes that the present superiority of the West in atomic power should be used *now* to place before Russia the alternative of negotiating or risking a full-scale war. But this difference apart, his argument supports a basic position I regard as unassailable.

"Since the end of the war," he writes, "the balance of forces between the East and the West has definitely shifted in favor of the Communists. It is for this reason that security for the West cannot be found in the reciprocal balance of the two huge military establishments. Experience has shown that Europe as at present constituted is incapable of a military effort great enough to withstand the initial shock of a massive invasion." M. Bernard sees a definite peril in expecting that a parity of strength between the two blocs will eventually be reached, first, because "time is working on the side of the Soviet Union" and, second, because, as one year after another goes by in an unavailing and economically exhausting arms race, the West might be tempted to force a showdown at the worst possible moment for itself. Since, as he sees it, the West now has atomic superiority over Russia, he believes that Russia should be approached—in a most direct way: "Do you want negotiations or do you want war?"

But M. Bernard lays down two basic conditions for the West, if it is to follow the course he proposes. First, the Western leaders must cease to "draw the wrong conclusions from their analysis of the present state of affairs." They must "moderate their demands" and "take the real situation into account." "Politics," he adds, "is the art of the possible, and there is no possibility that we can wrest from the Russians what they have taken." Without mentioning Mr. Dulles by name, he repeatedly pronounces himself against the policy of "liberation" from without. The second condition is that the West should attach its proposal of negotiation to an issue which would be tempting to the enemy. M. Bernard believes Germany is that issue.

"It is impossible," he says, "to formulate a program for the settlement of the cold war without taking a clear-cut position on the German problem, no matter whether the reunification or the definitive division of the country is favored. For several reasons German reunification constitutes necessarily a condition of an amicable settlement of the cold war. Whether the cold war comes to an end will depend on whether Germany can be reunited with the consent of all interested powers and on a basis which is without peril for all."

M. Bernard recalls that the late German Socialist leader, Kurt Schumacher, shortly before his death declared to a group of American reporters: "The partition of Germany is the trump card of Soviet foreign policy." Schumacher used this enigmatic phrase to indicate that the incompatibility of German unification with Germany's integration in the West offered the Russians an opportunity for political and psychological pressure that the Western powers had no possibility of counteracting. Or, as M. Bernard puts it: "Russia in theory could at any time rupture the military and economic ties binding West Germany to the Western coalition by offering to

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restore the eastern provinces to West Germany and by leaving the German Communist Party to its own devices."

In M. Bernard's opinion the achievement of German unity remains the prerequisite of a general settlement of the East-West conflict. Russia will never give up East Germany of its own free will, nor will the West give up West Germany. "On the other hand, it goes against all sense of reality to base world policy on the permanent partition of a great nation." But this very antagonism of interests in itself suggests a solution—the political neutralization of Germany. If the rearmament of Germany and its integration in the European army and NATO are Moscow's biggest worry, then Russia should be willing to pay the price of neutralization for Western abandonment of German rearmament. A top-level negotiation on Germany would offer the additional advantage of opening a way for the balancing and disposing of the other issues of the cold war. This, in turn, would make possible a start toward genuine disarmament, for all attempts at arms limitation are doomed as long as the German problem remains unsolved.

M. Bernard enumerates what are, in his view, the indispensable conditions of an acceptable peace treaty with Germany. They include the establishment of a democratic form of government in Germany, admission of German exports to the markets of East and West, and the reduction of German armaments to a level fixed in a general disarmament agreement. But, he insists, "it is urgent that this be realized before it is too late."

A Decade of Party Decay

BY MARK GAYN

Paris

To interpret current dramatic developments in Communist Europe, The Nation *has chosen Mark Gayn, who over the years has built up a remarkable reputation for independent and accurate journalism. Few Americans can match his first-hand knowledge of the Communist world, including both Russia and China. He has made a number of extended visits to the Soviet satellite countries and is the author of four books on the Orient.*

This article is the first of two on the Red purges; the second will appear next week.

THERE is an air of grotesque unreality about the purges now sweeping the Red world. The courtroom tales of cloak-and-dagger intrigue have never been more lurid, the propaganda more strident, the confessions more abject. Never have so many countries been affected. And there is every sign that the peak of terror is not yet; when it comes, it may overshadow the Yezhov purges of the thirties. The terrible Yezhov, after all, confined his attention to the Soviet Union.

The new purges have other novel features. In Hungary "pacifism," occasionally coupled with "apathy," has been added to the list of deadly sins. In Moscow the "Zionist doctors" are charged with a plot to kill off the Red high command, thus blunting the Red Army's effectiveness. A Prague journal notes that the exposure of the Slansky conspiracy liquidated those elements which might have weakened Czechoslovakia in the next war. Slansky's codefendant Sling, in an outburst of frankness that must have been carefully rehearsed, declared: "I'd like to say that our conspiratorial center . . . in case of war would have supported American aggression and would have worked for the defeat of the Czechoslovak people's democracy."

This is probably one of the keys to the new purges. For some reason—perhaps not unconnected with the election of General Eisenhower—Soviet Russia is tightening up its defenses, and the purges are as much a part of the process today as they were in the thirties, when Stalin awaited the Nazi attack. But for the first time there is overwhelming evidence that the Russians and their satellites are including Jews, *per se,* among their victims.

The use of anti-Semitism for political ends is of course rare in Communist history. Not in the bloodiest days of the twenties and thirties, when Stalin was eliminating the Trotsky-Zinoviev-Kamenev-Radek group, was the word "Jew" ever used. Even today satellite spokesmen deny any anti-Semitic intent—"we're against Zionism, not against Jews." But if there is no attack on the Jews as a race, there is very strong emphasis on the Jewish origin of the wrongdoers. In the Czech trials defendant Sling noted the traitorous appointment of "five Jews" as regional party secretaries, defendant Svab named "the Jewish bourgeois nationalists Frejka, Goldmann, Loebl, etc." as agents of the "American spy" Noel Field, and defendant Fischl accused "Jewish religious communities" of cheating the state. This exchange between the presiding judge and ex-Communist Fischl was typical:

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Judge: Explain why you had such a hostile attitude toward the people's democracy of Czechoslovakia.

Fischl: Your Honor, I couldn't possibly have another attitude but a hostile one.

Judge: Why?

Fischl: I am a Jewish bourgeois nationalist.

Of course there is other evidence of officially sanctioned anti-Semitism. The world press has carried the story of the "Zionist doctors" in the Kremlin and reported the fear sweeping Jewish communities in most satellite countries. It is less widely known that there has been a round-up of "Jewish nationalists and Zionist agents" in Poland, that a "documentary" movie with a curious anti-Semitic slant has just been produced in Slovakia, that a big anti-Semitic courtroom drama is about to be staged in Rumania. Recent anti-Semitic statements in the satellite press bear a striking resemblance to Nazi exhortations and are bound to have an electrifying effect on the latent anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe and Russia.

ANOTHER significant feature of the new purges is that they involve the party in Russia as well as in the satellite states. Moscow has thus far disclosed formally only the arrest of the nine doctors and a thorough purge in the Leningrad area. But a study of the Soviet press since last September, when the regional and republican party congresses indulged in an orgy of denunciation, reveals that the Russian Communist Party is going through its biggest shake-up since the mid-thirties. The congresses exposed not only scandalous corruption and nepotism but a dangerous rash of "nationalist"—meaning anti-Russian—deviations, all the way from the restless Baltic republics to Stalin's own Georgia and the Moslem republics of Central Asia. It would be naive to assume that all these large-scale deviations, and even occasional conspiracies, went unpunished. In some curious way all the purges form a pattern which binds Russia and its satellites together in a common and mysterious fear, and connects the Russian campaign against, say, Kazakh nationalists with the Czech drive against the Jews. Can it be that the Red world is preparing itself for the coming global crisis by horsewhipping its non-conformist or laggard minorities?

There is one more point to make. The widely publicized cases, such as Slansky, Dertinger, and the nine doctors, tend to obscure the broader drama of which they are only minor episodes. For every Slansky put on public trial, a thousand other Communists are tried *in camera,* often without even their families being informed, and tens of thousands are thrown out of the party and their jobs and, perhaps, imprisoned.

Figures help to place the headlined events in a proper perspective. In Hungary roughly 200,000 Communists were purged from the party in 1949, and another 100,000 in 1950. In Czechoslovakia between 1949 and 1951 the purges shaved the party rolls by more than 600,000. Only the other day *Rude Pravo* in Prague rejoiced that Slansky had been arrested a year ago and his associates as much as two years ago. The time elapsed, it explained, "has enabled us to make a thorough cleansing of the party and state apparatus." It is safe to estimate that in a "normal" year half a million Communists are purged in the European "people's democracies." The result is a vast uneasiness that sometimes borders on hysteria. Some parties find it necessary to issue reassuring statements. Boss Istvan Kovacs in Hungary called the purges "a very serious and intricate task, which cannot be accomplished in a day. While performing it, we must not become panicky, or allow panic to arise. . . . Excessive haste and rashness will only create confusion."

But the assurances are futile. Everyone knows that expulsion from the party usually also means demotion or dismissal from his job, penalties for his family, or even internment. Thus the instinct of self-preservation takes over, and the purges are accompanied by savage and imaginative competition in back-stabbing.

What I have been trying to suggest here is that if the purges generate anxiety, they are also a product of anxiety. Party literature is filled with outspoken doubts that most members would remain loyal to the Soviet Union in case of war. At party headquarters few things are watched more carefully than the graphs of the party's "social composition." All members except the workers and, to a lesser degree, the poor peasants are suspected as fair-weather friends who have joined the party for the fat benefits thus obtainable. In a crisis they are expected to desert in droves. There is also a deep fear of native nationalism, which is probably the only force that could solidify opposition to Russia in Eastern Europe.

ABOVE all, the purges are a symptom of the rot eating into all the Communist parties in power. When the party is underground or when it is a party of protest, it attracts few opportunists. A sizable part of its membership may consist of men of faith, ready to sacrifice themselves for the cause. But as soon as the party seizes power, it becomes a vast bureaucracy. Instead of voicing protest, it penalizes it. Instead of faith, it demands conformity and discipline. Inevitably it becomes subject to the corruption of spirit and morals bred by power.

Abundant support for these generalizations is supplied from Communist sources. My favorite bit of evidence

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comes from Vulko Chervenkov, who became the boss of the Bulgarian Communist Party via nineteen years (1925-44) in Russia and marriage to George Dimitrov's daughter. In a brutally frank speech before his Central Committee some time ago Chervenkov suggested that the party leaders had winked at the anti-Soviet acts of the liquidated Traicho Kostov because some of them had themselves served the Bulgarian fascist police as stool pigeons. Now, Chervenkov said, he intended first to screen the leaders and then move down the party hierarchy until he caught all the agents provocateurs.

He accused his fellow-leaders of being pocket-sized czars in their spheres of activity and of creating an atmosphere of "irresponsibility, impunity, and megalomania." The party leadership still has "chatterboxes, dreamers, and people with excessive ambition who pretend that they know everything and can do anything." As an example, Chervenkov offered the party's chief economic planner, who had apparently made the mistake of opposing him in intra-party squabbles. This man, he said, had devised a magnificent Five-Year Plan without bothering to determine statistically the needs or the possible achievements; he had appropriated billions without finding out whether there was any money in the till and had ignored fabulous thievery of materials.

"Did we punish him?" demanded Chervenkov. "Did we beat him for it? No. We spared him!" And his listeners, he added, were no better than the luckless planner. They stagnated in good nature, in mutual forgiveness, abided by the petty-bourgeois rule of "live and let live." He himself, he stressed, intended to screen out all who wavered in their loyalty to Moscow. "Nationalism," he cried, "must be sternly uprooted as a hostile fascist ideology."

TESTIMONY on the infection in the lower party echelons is furnished by Hungary's Matyas Rakosi, a far subtler operator than Chervenkov. Local leadership, he reported to his Central Committee, has been taken over "mainly by elderly comrades who participated in the Communist movement prior to liberation." They feel they are entitled to all the plushy jobs in the state, the party, and the economy. Many see their jobs merely as stepping stones toward something more profitable. Newcomers, and especially women and younger men, are frozen out. The local leaders do not bother to hold party meetings, give no accounting of their work, and run their critics out of the party. On the excuse that the Communist state is a dictatorship of the proletariat they "use force instead of persuasion," with the result that even the poor peasants are antagonized by the repressive steps taken against the rich kulaks. These symptoms, Rakosi noted, are spreading, and "more than once taking the form of corruption."

But in the rank and file as in the leaders, nationalism is the deadliest sin. "For twenty-five years the Horthy regime endeavored, not without success, to inoculate our working class with chauvinism, anti-Semitism, and race pride. . . . The virus of nationalism has penetrated the working class. A significant part of our intelligentsia is steeped in race prejudice; it kotows to every demonstration from the West and deprecates Soviet achievements. The attempt to hide the successes . . . of the Soviet Union is another form of nationalism."

Anyone who has lived in the people's democracies will reproach Rakosi and Chervenkov only for their restraint. Out of my own experience with Communists I could cite dozens of instances of thievery, kickbacks by officials to their bosses, bribery, nepotism, perversion, and vice that show remarkable kinship in techniques to the gangster rule of New York's water front.

Perhaps the most significant thing about the inner rot which Chervenkov and Rakosi declaimed against is that it does not differ from the type of deep decay exposed by the Soviet press last fall. Corruption, nepotism, Russification of the non-Russian republics (and resistance to it), official high-handedness, and total lack of democracy —all these are common features of Communist life, along with the purges that seek vainly to arrest the spread of the gangrene. It should be noted that ideological conflict is seldom at the root of a purge—almost never in the satellite countries. Ideological debate was extinguished together with the last Russian dissenters in the mid-thirties. If anyone voices a dissenting opinion in Russia today, he either vanishes, as did Voznesensky, or is subjected to Stalin's Olympian scorn, as were some obscure theoreticians last fall. In the satellite countries philosophical disagreement is simply impossible. Any argument within a satellite Politburo is solely over administrative detail. And to a degree not even imagined by the West, these debates—and the major purges—are colored by personal vendettas. Few Czechs have been unaware of the feud between Slansky and Gottwald, few Bulgarians have not known of the merciless struggle for power between Chervenkov and Kostov, and few East Germans are not convinced that sooner or later Ulbricht will do away with his two Politburo colleagues, Dahlem and Rau, around whom he has already begun to spin a murderous web.

Personal hatreds add to the savagery of the purges. I was in Hungary at the time of Rajk's arrest, and I am not likely to forget the mass-meetings which demanded "Rope for Rajk," or the telephone operators on the interurban lines who chirped sweetly, "Death to Rajk! What number do you wish?" Today, judging by the monitored radio reports before me, the same kind of hysteria prevails in Czechoslovakia, East Germany, and Rumania. The Communists may see advantage in this course. I am convinced that history will prove them wrong.

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Maharajah in the White House

BY BRUCE CATTON

Washington

NO INAUGURAL parade ever had a real elephant before, which is just another way of saying that no one before ever went to such great lengths to make a gaudy show out of it. The elephant's part, of course, was finished when the parade ended, but the spirit of showmanship which dug up the beast in the first place is just getting started. You are going to see a great deal more of it.

In addition to the elephant, a hint about the course things may take was dropped at the Grand Inaugural Concert at Constitution Hall on the Sunday evening before the big event. A leading item on the program was to have been Aaron Copland's "A Lincoln Portrait," for speaker and orchestra. At the last minute, however, this number was quietly expunged because Representative Fred E. Busbey of Illinois lodged a protest, on the ground that Copland had been accused of associating with Communist-front groups. The chairman of the arrangements committee said that the number was dropped as soon as the protest was made, "because we didn't want to do anything to bring criticism."

So the Copland number was not heard, and if this was in the end something less than a fatal blow to the evil designs of the men in the Kremlin, it at least saved the assembled Republicans from being compelled to listen to Lincoln's brooding words: "Fellow-citizens, we cannot escape history. We of this Congress and this Administration will be remembered in spite of ourselves."

At the White House end of Pennsylvania Avenue the era of the big build-up is beginning. There will be an elephant in every parade from now on. The super-salesmanship which was so effective during the campaign, which packaged and sold the General as expertly and tenderly as if he had been something made by Lever Brothers, is going to continue.

The end in view, of course, is to make permanent the picture of a great, wise, and fatherly man. "I Like Ike" was a statement of fact rather than a campaign slogan. If the liking can be fixed in the consciousness of the nation by a carefully contrived program, it ought to be very hard for the Democrats to win the next election.

White House press-relations officers are now talking about putting the President, perhaps with some members of his Cabinet, on television once a month or so. Thus the father image is to be projected into millions of American homes; the script could, and beyond doubt would, be prepared under the direction of the canniest professionals in the field. Almost the single reassuring note is the assertion last week by James C. Hagerty, White House press secretary, that the tradition of Presidential press conferences will be continued, and that the newsmen will still be free to ad lib their questions as they face the President on such occasions. Apparently this represents a victory for Mr. Hagerty, who is an old-time newspaperman himself.

While the executive branch of the new Administration will rely heavily on the big build-up, in Congress the emphasis will be on investigation. Reds in government will be investigated, of course. So will Reds in schools and colleges, and Reds in labor unions, and Reds in general; it is not unlikely that in a couple of years people will be looking back on 1951 and 1952 as years in which the witch hunts were fairly restrained.

But ordinary wrongdoers will also be investigated. Practically anybody who did anything in government during the past twenty years is a fair target, since underneath all this investigating more and more one purpose runs. If enough can be hung on the Democrats, future elections ought to take care of themselves for quite a while. Congress may not be able to do very much about budget balancing and tax reduction in the near future, but if it can give enough Democrats a black eye it will have accomplished its mission. The build-up and the tear-down can work wonders if properly combined.

As all this gets under way, it must be noted that the dominant note sounded thus far by the new Administration is one of sheer arrogance. The perfect example, of course, is that furnished by Charles E. Wilson of General Motors, whose like has not been seen around here for a long, long time. With Mr. Wilson it was not solely what he said, although that was hair-raising enough in all conscience; it was also the way he said it. Somehow he conveyed the impression that it would be a kind of impiety for mere Senators to press annoying questions on the head of General Motors. What was good for the corporation was good for the country; so what earthly difference could it make if the Secretary of Defense did hang on to his holdings in the corporation? The divine right of corporations has not been so unblushingly pre-

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sented here since Theodore Roosevelt tangled with the coal-and-iron barons half a century ago.

But the arrogance runs clear across the board. It is behind the proposal for a televised, soap-opera-style Cabinet conference. It is implicit in the selection process which has turned the President's Cabinet into a millionaires' club. (In a glowing profile in *Life*, Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey is quoted as commenting on Hemingway's "The Old Man and the Sea": "Why would anyone be interested in some old man who was a failure and never amounted to anything anyway?")

Yet there is a faint sense of uneasiness beneath this arrogance. It is arrogance on a tight rope, so to speak. For if the new Eisenhower Administration is sitting pretty right now, so is Senator Robert A. Taft. And Senator Taft is sitting up on Capitol Hill, to which the Eisenhower Administration must go for all of its legislation, and which Senator Taft pretty completely dominates.

His dominance can perhaps be broken. Plenty of Republican members rode in on Eisenhower's coat tails and can be reminded of it. But still, Taft does dominate up there. Also, it is twenty years since any Republican in Congress felt impelled to cooperate with the executive branch or indeed to do anything except make trouble for it. Republicans in Congress have developed a conditioned reflex about their relations with the White House. That reflex can probably be changed, but it will take some political skill and tenacity.

It may be that the real question as the new Administration gets started is simply: "Who won the election, after all?"

POINT FOUR—AFTER FOUR YEARS

The Land-poor Farmer

BY W. ARTHUR LEWIS

Manchester, England

MOST of the people in the world are farmers. In the United States, it is true, less than 15 per cent of the people are engaged in agriculture, but in Asia and Africa the percentage is between 60 and 70. Most farmers are extremely poor and show all the usual symptoms of poverty—high disease and death rates, illiteracy and superstition, poor housing. This poverty is unnecessary; to end it is one of the major tasks of the second half of the twentieth century. It is unnecessary because the means to end it lie at hand. Asia and Africa and large parts of Latin America remain poor mainly because the information about how to increase production which has been accumulating for two centuries in the Western world has not yet been applied to their problems.

In Mediterranean countries where rice is grown the yield is 4,000 to 5,000 pounds per acre. But in most of Asia a yield of 1,500 pounds per acre is considered good. Agricultural experts assert that it would be possible to double the yield per acre in many of the underdeveloped countries by adopting relatively simple practices. Better seed could increase the yield by 10 to 15 per cent—the governments, of course, would have to establish more seed farms together with systems for distributing the seed. More general adoption of crop rotation would also help. Pests eat much of the crop before and after harvesting; greater use of insecticides and better storage facilities would add 15 to 20 per cent to the amount left for human consumers. Fertilizers would add another 20 per cent or so; most of the farmers in underdeveloped countries have not yet learned to use artificial manures. Above all, control of water is important. Wells, drainage channels, irrigation canals, dams, and storage systems raise the yield of the land tremendously.

Thus a major item in any program to aid the world's farmers must be agricultural education—informing the farmer of the new techniques. The governments of underdeveloped countries are only beginning to tackle this problem seriously. A large number of agents must be trained in agriculture and also in the inculcation of modern methods. It is an expensive undertaking.

Another major need is capital—for irrigation and drainage works, for roads, for processing, storage, and marketing facilities, for establishing seed farms and research institutes, and, on the farm itself, for better equipment, better livestock, more fertilizer. Some part of the capital needed by agriculture can be provided by the farmers themselves, and one of the objects of rural credit societies is to encourage farmers to save and to invest their savings in improving their farms. But farmers can-

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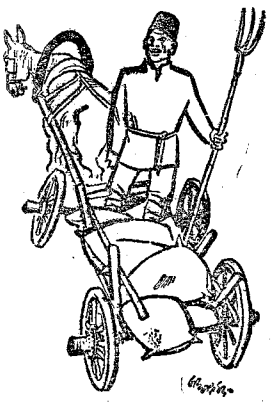


not save much however hard they try, and so most of the capital required must come from other sources.

This suggests one of the fallacies in current discussions of economic aid for underdeveloped areas. There are those who say that "backward countries would get all the capital they needed if they would clear the channels for private foreign investment." But however effective private foreign capital may be in starting new manufacturing industries in underdeveloped countries, the role it can play in the agriculture of Asia or Africa is obviously very small. The initiative in bringing new techniques and new capital to the hundreds of millions of small farmers in the world must be taken mainly by their governments. If the Western world wants to help it must help those governments by providing trained personnel and sufficient material resources. The governments translate their difficulties into money. If they could only get more money, they could work wonders in the villages.

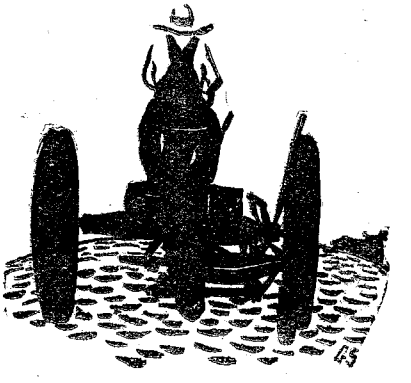
IF THE first reason why farmers are poor is that yields are low, the second is that each farmer has too little land. For every person engaged in agriculture in the United States there are about thirty acres of land under cultivation; for every person so engaged in India there are about three acres. Increasing the amount of land per farmer lightens the farmers' poverty. One way to do this is to increase the total area under cultivation. Sometimes more land can be made suitable for cultivation by draining swamps, providing irrigation, getting rid of the tsetse fly, cutting off forests, building roads, and so on. The cost of this work is often heavy, and it falls upon impoverished governments, most of which are engaged in such programs to the limit of their resources. Sometimes it is a matter of improving the farmer's equipment. A family with a hoe can cultivate only two or three acres; one with a plow and beasts can manage ten to fifteen acres; one with a tractor can handle fifty acres and upward. If the farmers are to cultivate more land, a prerequisite is a considerable investment in equipment.

The availability of land varies widely from country to country. There is plenty of arable land not yet cultivated in Burma and Tanganyika; there is extremely little in India or China. If the cultivable area cannot be enlarged, the way to increase the ratio of land to farmer is to reduce the number of farmers—that is to say, provide additional employment off the land, which means chiefly in manufacturing. In India at least 20 per cent of the population now engaged in agriculture is surplus to its requirements, in the sense that, given the existing equipment and techniques, the necessary work could still be done if this 20 per cent were to leave the land. These people are really unemployed. Put to work in industry, they would add substantially to the nation's wealth, as well as improve the living standard of those left behind on the land.

Industrialization and agricultural improvement always go together. Improved methods give farmers more money and so provide a market for industry; at the same time the workers released from the land serve as a labor supply for industry. Industrialization, in turn, provides a market for farm produce and employment for surplus labor. To increase agricultural yields and to provide more employment in industry are the twin goals of economic development.

But industrialization is as costly as agricultural improvement. There is the same problem of education—of training the mechanics, the builders, the foremen, the accountants, and all the other hundreds of skills without which an industrial community cannot function. And there is the problem of capital. The private investor can build the factory itself, but the government must provide communications, electric power, water supply, and the whole expensive range of public utilities required for the operation of industry.

However you approach the problem of economic development, you run up against the fact that most governments of underdeveloped countries are too poor to do their part of the job. The governments are too poor because the peoples are too poor. A man cannot lift himself by his own bootstraps, and neither can a country. If you are too poor to save, perhaps you can borrow. But everyone knows that it is the rich who find it easy to borrow, not the poor. Similarly, the flow of international lending is toward rich underdeveloped countries like Canada and Australia rather than toward poor ones like India and Nigeria.



In recognition of the low borrowing capacity of poor countries, two institutions have been set up to enable the governments of these countries to borrow cheaply—the United States government's Export-Import Bank and the United Nations' International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Both banks are well patronized and do a useful job which is much appreciated, but they do not fill the whole need. They finance only "self-liquidating" projects, while much of the money required for development has to go into projects that are not

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self-liquidating. A self-liquidating project is one producing a commodity or service that can be sold at a price high enough to pay for interest and amortization of capital. Such an enterprise automatically provides the borrower with the wherewithal to pay the loan. Thus money can be borrowed for the construction of a railway, or irrigation works, or a telephone system, but not for agricultural education or an anti-malaria campaign.

SELF-LIQUIDATING and non-self-liquidating projects, however, must often be developed side by side. If there is no money for undertakings in the second category, those in the first may prove abortive. One of the major handicaps to developing backward countries, whether by private or public, domestic or foreign investment, is the inadequacy of the public services. Because education, for example, is inadequate, there is a shortage of people to devise and carry out development plans. Yet most governments are too poor to support an adequate educational program, and they cannot borrow for the purpose because education is "non-self-liquidating."

To meet this difficulty the U. N. Report on Measures for the Economic Development of Underdeveloped Countries proposed the establishment of a United Nations fund to make grants-in-aid to the governments of underdeveloped countries for non-self-liquidating projects. Money from this fund, the report specified, should be available only for research and education, public health, farm credit, and rural public works. Initially, while plans were being made and educational programs launched, only small sums would be allotted, but the report recommended that eventually the fund should disburse three billion dollars a year.

The proposal has the support of all underdeveloped countries. Its main opponent in the United Nations has been the United States, whose delegates have said that while the United States is not averse to appropriating sums for economic aid, as is shown by its current programs, Congress would prefer to make any substantial contribution to underdeveloped countries through United States agencies and not through an international fund. The colonial powers also have their own agencies for helping their possessions.

Nevertheless, a case can be made for having a U. N. fund side by side with any national agencies that may exist. In the first place, the United States and the colonial powers are not the only possible contributors. Countries like Sweden, Canada, and Australia may wish to and should take part in this great international effort. Secondly, the underdeveloped countries prefer to receive grants from the U. N. rather than from national agencies. Their governments are anxious to preserve their independence and are fearful of the strings that might be attached to grants-in-aid from powerful countries like the United States or Great Britain. They have expressed this preference in the U. N. debates, both by their words and by voting consistently in favor of creating a U. N. fund. If the United States will agree to channel some part of its aid program through the U. N., the U. N. fund will come into existence, since most of the other developed countries will follow its lead. If the United States holds out, there will be no U. N. fund.

A LETTER TO PRESIDENT EISENHOWER

You Challenged Jim Crow

BY MARGARET JUST BUTCHER

Washington

DURING your recent campaign, Mr. President, you were perhaps understandably cautious about committing yourself on various specific civil-rights issues. After all, you were trying to hold together many diverse elements in your support. But the caution you exercised in other directions served all the more to emphasize one concrete commitment you did allow yourself to make—your pledge to do all in your power to end segregation in the District of Columbia.

Indeed, so strongly—and so repeatedly—did you express yourself on that subject that Senator Wayne Morse sponsored in the Senate a "District of Columbia Civil Rights Bill" designed specifically to end racial segregation here. Introducing the bill, the Senator said: "The President-elect has given his solemn word time and again that his Administration would stamp out segregation in the District."

Now I know there have been disquieting reports that you have changed your mind on this issue since the election returns were tallied. I prefer not to believe these reports. I prefer to believe that you see Washington, as many of us do, as a show window of our great country and hold that as such it should represent the best in American life and American democracy.

It will not be easy for you to redeem your pledge. The prejudiced will work against you. Few of the reins

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of the District's government lie directly in your hands. But as a long-time resident here, a university teacher who has been closely identified with civic affairs, I can assure you that there is much you *can* do, and quickly, to resolve Washington's top social problem.

IN THE first place, it is your duty to appoint the three District of Columbia commissioners who by virtue of Reorganization Plan Number 5 have direct control over a number of boards, commissions, and agencies that exert tremendous influence on the life of the District. You can see to it that the appointments go to men or women whose prime concern will be to insure equal opportunity and privilege to all whose welfare comes under their jurisdiction. You can instruct them specifically that you wish them to take an unequivocal position on all matters relating to civil rights.

The District commissioners, for example, have direct control of Washington's welfare institutions and agencies. You could instruct them to eliminate segregation in the training schools for juvenile delinquents and order the separation of the youngsters, not on a basis of color, but according to age, sex, and degree of delinquency. The commissioners could issue a direct order for the elimination of segregation in the Fire Department. They could investigate promotion procedures in the District Police Department, where at present no Negro, in any precinct, holds rank above that of a private except for a single corporal assigned exclusively to boys' club work.

Using their power to issue licenses to restaurants, the commissioners could require non-discrimination pledges from the proprietors. If, as a recent Appeals Court decision may have indicated, such action were declared illegal, you could still ask Congress for a law expressly ordering the revocation of the license of any restaurant which denied service for the reason of race or color.

Your commissioners could be instructed to see that their own appointments to various District boards and commissions were in line with your anti-Jim Crow policy. Representatives of minority groups or persons with established reputations as fighters for minority rights should serve on such agencies as the Cosmetology Board, the Barbers' Board, the Dental Board, the Accounting Board—to name but a few. The fact that a Negro has served as chairman of the Parole Board should suggest to you that qualified local Negro citizens are available for appointment and can serve without arousing disturbance in the community.

In the light of your avowed stand against segregation in the District, Mr. President, your commissioners could be expected to see that no discrimination was practiced in hiring. If they failed, it would still be possible for you to draft an F. E. P. C. act for the District and to submit it to Congress for approval. Thus Negro doctors could be appointed for staff service in public hospitals—the recent admission of Negroes to the local medical society indicates a wholesome change of attitude in the medical profession. While neither you nor the commissioners can interfere directly with the hiring practices of such public utilities as the telephone company or the Capital Transit Company, the District Public Utilities Commission might investigate the effects of discrimination in hiring on rates and service. The transit company, for instance, goes to great expense to hire operators from as far south as the Carolinas, while refusing jobs to local Negroes. Surely such policies are reflected in our constantly increasing transit fares.

THE District Board of Education is independent both of your control and of the commissioners'. Moreover, the issue of school segregation is now before the Supreme Court. Even so, it should be possible for you to encourage, directly and indirectly, inter-group gatherings designed to prepare the community for the possible collapse of Jim Crowism in the District school system. While it is wrong to argue a moral case on the basis of expediency, I cannot forbear to remark that Washington is the center of America's "Sell Democracy to the World" program, and that what happens in our District schools happens, so to speak, in a fish bowl in which all the world can look. Thus we hope that the Supreme Court will remember this city's vulnerability to world censure when it renders its decision.

I hope, Mr. President, that your Administration will make every effort to hold the notable gains made in Washington under the last Administration. Secretary of the Interior McKay, for instance, could do no better than to look for guidance in civil-rights matters to his distinguished predecessors, Mr. Ickes, Mr. Krug, and Mr. Chapman. The fact that this department can administer a national-parks system without racial restriction suggests that non-segregation can work well in the District.

Recently a distinguished Washingtonian, presumably a candidate for public office, remarked: "I am for gradual elimination of segregation." What does he mean, I wonder? Ten years? Ten generations? Ten millennia? Or ten playgrounds, say, at a time? I hope, Mr. President, that you will not succumb to the lure of that magic word "gradualism." We should be better off, I think, risking a single violent reaction by removing Jim Crow simultaneousiy from all playgrounds than risking a whole series of disturbances by transforming playgrounds one at a time.

A prime necessity today is first-class citizenship rights for America's minorities. I hope, with the hope traditional to American optimism, that in your new and challenging role you can translate to living reality the principles to which all true Americans subscribe.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Rise of a Labor Leader

SIDNEY HILLMAN, STATESMAN OF AMERICAN LABOR. By Matthew Josephson. Doubleday and Company. $5.

MATTHEW JOSEPHSON'S book about Sidney Hillman is probably as complete in its coverage of the details of Hillman's life as any biography could be. Certainly a most interesting life was led by this Lithuanian-born boy who utilized his great native intelligence, his basically sound education, and his practical mind to become an important labor leader in the United States and in his later years played a part in some of the political crises which accompanied the great depression of the '30's and the Second World War.

Mr. Josephson's book is very thorough; large parts of it appear to be based on notes kept either by Hillman or by those close to him during his years of political activity and his struggle for trade-union leadership. It gives detailed information on how the problems must have appeared to Hillman and those working with him at the time. In reading this book many will find themselves wishing that Hillman could have lived to write his own memoirs from a detached post-activity point of view; his long-term evaluation of the situation would then have emerged.

For the reader concerned with the rise of the new type of labor union in the United States this book is invaluable. The account of Hillman's first years and of the beginnings of the new clothing workers' unions is realistic and well documented and offers a convincing picture of the attitude of the general public, of industry, and of the working people themselves toward the union movement in the early 1900's.

Perhaps the most appealing section of the book is that headed Boyhood and Youth, a period which most of Hillman's later acquaintances knew nothing about. The picture of the Jewish community in Lithuania and Russia, of the struggles of some young idealists to escape from oppression, gives the reader an understanding of the basic drives which were to carry not only Hillman but others into the larger labor movement of the United States. One realizes from the beginning that Hillman's life in the labor movement was one of constant warfare. The abortive labor movement in Russia, Hillman's flight under the assault of reactionaries, the early conflicts in Chicago, when his efforts to found a union outside the domination of the old A. F. of L. garment workers' unions led to the death or injury of several participants—all were marked by violence and intrigue. The author uses the phrase "contained excitement" in several places to describe what others also recognized as an element in Hillman's courageous energy.

Although the warfare of the early days appeared to subside as the new unions gained strength and public recognition of their usefulness, Hillman was constantly involved in struggle, first with the Reds or extreme radicals within the union and later with the racketeers who crept into the union and made alliances with gangs on the outside. This was real warfare with guns and street fighting, shocking to the general public and only now described from the point of view of the Amalgamated unions and Hillman himself. Basically, the fight was to prevent the non-union shops from infringing on the jurisdiction of the Amalgamated and its contracts with employers. The affiliation of some union members with racketeers was perhaps the hardest blow ever dealt Hillman.

The whole era in which Hillman worked to get public support and understanding for the labor unions is one of great interest. His almost intuitive understanding of publicity and of the way to obtain the attention and cooperation of elements of society not connected with industrial problems is well described here. Hillman won the approval of intellectual groups throughout the country by his development of services for union members which proved to be a binding force for union loyalty as well as a method of improving their standard of living.

The setting up of banks in New York and other centers of the garment industry—not just saving accounts but real banks which took commercial accounts and lent money on good security—the entrance of unions into the field of building and operating housing projects for their members, the development of educational and other welfare programs with union funds, all these brought benefits to the Amalgamated unions. The author credits Hillman with the introduction of these ideas. The action of the union in lending money to a depressed employer so that he might stay in business and give employment to union members was, of course, one of the brilliant uses of the union's banking facilities. The author stresses the fact that the Amalgamated banks did not go under in the great depression and that they paid every cent to their depositors in the bank holiday.

The second half of the book, dealing with Hillman in his Washington or political period, will arouse more controversy among trade unionists who did not agree with Hillman. The abortive effort to affiliate the Amalgamated with the A. F. of L., the formation of the C. I. O., the conflicts that developed in the C. I. O., and the battle between the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. are sketched but not so completely developed as Hillman's earlier life and union activities. Hillman's entrance into the federal government and involvement in administrative matters explain the meager documentation of this section. Undoubtedly he had no time for the notes and analytical comments which made the first half of the book so illuminating.

Mr. Josephson has discharged his task well and the book will be widely read. It will be of great value to students of the labor movement and will be interesting to persons who are concerned only with an understanding of history. One could wish there had been more material available on the very last phase of Hillman's life and his reasons for taking part in the formation of the World Federation of Trade Unions. Hillman's ideas with regard to this and the degree of his understanding of the great hazards of association with Russian "trade unionists," with Sailliant of

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the French Confederation of Labor, which was thought to be even then under Communist domination, and with other more or less unknown European leaders have never been fully analyzed. One hopes that this final activity will some day be made clear to Hillman's interested colleagues. FRANCES PERKINS

MacLeish's Poetry

COLLECTED POEMS, 1917-1952. By Archibald MacLeish. Houghton Mifflin Company. $4.

READING for the first time the collected poems of any poet—the span of his achievement, with all the false starts and wrong directions—is often an awakening and rather humbling experience, and I think it is especially so in the case of Mr. MacLeish's "Collected Poems." There is, in the first place, the volume, compact, thick, fat with poetry—a real accomplishment in itself, to write so much. For poets who last long enough to publish their collected poems are real professionals, writers who have stuck to their desks over the years, and like all professionals they are not ashamed to offer their work in impressive quantities. Yet they have, too, the professional's critical sense; they pare their volumes clean of surplusage. Mr. MacLeish has done these things admirably. His book contains 407 pages of poetry and not a verse that shouldn't be there.

Which is not to say that all the poetry in this book is good. One can scarcely ask Mr. MacLeish to erase great chunks of himself. That is for us, the readers, the remorseless surgeons, to do. And we have hacked away at him pretty successfully during the last ten or fifteen years, amputating poems—major pieces at that!—with unembarrassed abandon. Mr. MacLeish made this easy for us by failing in his attempt to write affirmatively public poems, patriotic poems, poems inspired by liberal enthusiasm. He succeeded, it is true, much better than many other poets who, during the depression years, were trying to do the same thing, but still he failed. It is easy for us to cut away these poems, for if they are good sense, they are not good poetry. They seem to be almost propaganda, frothy and bombastic, with a forced folkishness and a loss of control. I mean such poems as "America Was Promises," "Colloquy for the States," some of the radio dramas and shorter encomia. Mr. MacLeish himself has left many poems from this period out of his book, but he has left enough in to give the full flavor of the time.

It has been easy also to criticize other of Mr. MacLeish's long works. "The Pot of Earth," "The Hamlet of A. MacLeish," "Actfive"—these and others seem to have been hung on a structure outside themselves, usually a well-known work of literature. They contain within themselves no narrative or dramatic content, and though they are often brilliantly written, one's interest flags from such continuous reference to a source outside the poem. In "Conquistador," which remains excellent reading, he broke away from a reliance on previous structures and composed a self-contained narrative without literary references beyond itself. But one still feels that there are tricks and unnecessary devices: the ellipses, the broken phrases, the curious punctuation.

I said that reading these collected poems is a humbling experience, and it is true. For all those amputations, for all our rusty scalpels and contrary diagnoses, the patient lives. We are left with little to say. Perhaps there wasn't anything wrong with him in the first place.

Mr. MacLeish's short lyrics are his best poems. "You, Andrew Marvell" is famous, but the other lyrics on time and death, with the recurrent image of our turning planet, seem to me, many of them, just as fine, including such poems as "Bahamas" and "The Old Man to the Lizard" that are contained in the section of the most recent works. The love poems, and there are many of them, written during every phase of the poet's career and in every aspect of feeling, are all excellent; they are composed with a restraint and an exactness of language that make them songlike, Elizabethan. Among the latest poems are several that challenge with vigor, bitterness, and yet with good taste the cheapness and stupidity of public life today in the United States. And there is one, a reply to T. S. Eliot, which makes the replies we have had from younger poets look like childish tantrums by comparison.

Finally, at the end of the book is Mr. MacLeish's latest long work, a verse drama for radio entitled "The Trojan Horse." It is his best work of the kind. It has been broadcast by the B. B. C. but not, so far as I know, in this country.

The Bollingen Prize in Poetry, which has become in a few years very obviously the highest honor an American poet can obtain, has just been awarded to Mr. MacLeish. Thereby he joins more or less officially the company of which his "Collected Poems" show him to have been a member all along.

HAYDEN CARRUTH

The Communist Infection

REPORT ON THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST. By Morris L. Ernst and David Loth. Henry Holt and Company. $3.

MORRIS ERNST and David Loth believe in combating communism with the techniques of freedom. They have faith in the democratic process—in the common sense of the people and in the triumph of reason. They seem altogether unafraid that Americans generally, given a choice, will choose the gospel according to Marx and Lenin

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in preference to the gospel according to Jefferson, that they will prefer totalitarianism to self-government. These are old-fashioned ideas, but it is heartening to find them reasserted in a time when, as the authors observe, the fight against communism "has been a fight based on fear and unfamiliarity, very much like the fear and ignorance which governed medieval reactions to the dreaded plague."

Messrs. Ernst and Loth undertook to find out how people became infected with communism, and how most of those infected were cured, by questioning some three hundred former party members. They discovered, among other things, that the party is made up overwhelmingly of native, white young people with comfortable, middle-class backgrounds and better-than-average education who joined, usually, for idealistic reasons. The average duration of party membership is no more than two or three years—about a quarter of this time being spent in trying to get out. The ratio of ex-Communists to present party members is estimated at twenty to one.

From the data they gathered, the authors obtained some pretty shrewd insights and formed a number of sound but rather superficial generalizations. Their book suffers a good deal from their obligation to conceal the identity of the ex-Communists whose cases they present to illustrate their points. The individuals are designated Edna E. or Paul J. or Daniel H. and they never come alive; like so many of the cases in psychoanalytic texts they seem mere puppets manipulated for the authors' purposes. They are difficult to distinguish from one another, and they afford altogether inadequate support for the sweeping inferences sometimes based upon them. Many of the points made by the authors seem entirely valid to this reviewer, but it cannot be said that they are proved by the case material.

One point which the case material does seem to demonstrate incontrovertibly is that Communists and anti-Communists combine to make an exodus from the party extremely difficult. McCarthyism, it appears, is a Communist technique; anyone who "deserts" the party is likely not only to be ostracized by his former associates but anonymously denounced by them as well. And given the reluctance of the outside world to employ former Communists at any occupation other than informer and professional witness, withdrawal from the party has exceedingly painful consequences.

Messrs. Ernst and Loth think that the duration of party membership could be appreciably shortened "if we could create safely a climate in which it would be as painless to give up the party card as it is to drop a magazine subscription." To this end, they urge repeal of the McCarran Internal Security Act, abandonment of efforts to outlaw or drive the Communist Party underground, compulsory disclosure of the financial backing of the Communists and all other groups striving to mold public opinion, the addition of "a few clergymen, psychiatrists, psychologists, sociologists, and teachers" to Congressional committee staffs if Congressional investigations of communism must continue at all, the cessation of job discrimination against former Communists save in sensitive positions, a program designed to promote the rehabilitation and redemption of Communists.

The rank-and-file Communist revealed by the Ernst-Loth study is not a spy or saboteur; he is not even very sinister. Generally speaking, he is a deluded idealist or neurotic, seeking submission and dedication, capable of devotion to socially more useful and humanitarian causes. This study offers an important introduction to understanding the American Communist. And such understanding is essential not alone in dealing with the Communist problem but in maintaining the patterns of American democracy.

ALAN BARTH

"C'est la Vie"

THE LITTLE MADELEINE: THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A YOUNG FRENCH GIRL. By Mrs. Robert Henrey. E. P. Dutton and Company. $4.

THIS is the story of my girlhood. No fact has been altered. Each character bears his, or her, own name." I take Mrs. Henrey's word for it that this record is true. But the authentic is frequently dull and not invariably convincing. "The Little Madeleine" offers the higher kind of realism: it deepens our sense of life. Now I know Madeleine so well that I could not define her. I know Milou, her father, muscular, hard-drinking, choleric, affectionate; Mathilde, her mother, no patient Griselda, with fairy fingers creating masterpieces of lingerie in the most squalid of the Parisian slums; I know their relatives, their friends, their neighbors, their casual acquaintances by the score, every one of them individual and unforgettable; I know the noises and the smells, the modest joys, the heartbreaking struggles, the sorrows, the tragedies, of Montmartre and Clichy, of La Grand' Combe in the South, and Marais, and Blois; and a French convent in England, the queer cosmopolitan world of Soho, the dinginess of the Seven Dials.

Realism worthy of the name—the slice of life, the humble truth—is miraculously rare. Céline, who describes

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Featuring the first appearance of the new section, Simone de Beauvoir's new and provocative "The Second Sex" will be reviewed by C. Wright Mills, author of "White Collar" and other books.

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the same milieu, is surrealistic, nightmarish. Zola brings into "L'Assommoir" heavy scientific and social theories and a conscious epic breadth of treatment. Octave Mirbeau, in "Le Journal d'une femme de chambre," chooses to horrify or to titillate. Marguerite Audoux, in "Marie-Claire," filters ugliness away. France, in "Crainquebille," cannot overcome his irony and pity. Flaubert never ceases to be a conscious artist and a satirist. Only Maupassant at his very best, Katherine Mansfield, Colette, attain the same purity. And even with them we cannot help thinking: "What fine observers! What masters of style!" No such words of praise come to our minds in this case; they would be irrelevant. Author, story, language are absolutely one. As with Montaigne, we were expecting a book, and find a human being.

The outskirts of *la Ville-Lumière,* some forty years ago, were strangely dark. Books, drama, monuments, museums, politics are never mentioned. Religion—oddly enough, the Gals were vaguely Protestant—hardly counts at all. A Franciscan is an aristocrat: espousing poverty raises him above worldly cares; the grinding destitution of the slums, on the contrary, has no place for spiritual luxuries. Madeleine's parents are not degraded or brutish; they might even be called *good.* Milou is but a rough laborer; Mathilde is more refined. Yet her code is rudimentary: do not get into debt, and do not be seen on the streets without a hat.

There is no righteous indignation against the rich. The best customers of a *lingère* are *cocottes;* they are daughters of the people who were lucky and clever; if successful, they deserve admiration. *"Elles font marcher le commerce":* they are good for the luxury trade. A *grande cocotte,* Yvonne, is Madeleine's heroine, because she possesses a marvelous collection of delicate underwear. Yet there is no trace of cynicism in the book, no salaciousness, no pornography. It is not maidenly, but it is healthily girlish; aware of the slime but unsullied. It is profoundly *moral* in the classical sense, moral as La Rochefoucauld, La Bruyère, La Fontaine were moral. It is not in the least disenchanted or morose. Mathilde and Madeleine would shrug their shoulders at "Ecclésiaste," that weary old bachelor. They preserve their indomitable zest, their unconquerable hope. Finally, Madeleine gets a job as a manicurist at the Savoy in London; and heaven opens.

This world of Madeleine's, I knew it at close range, and indeed from within; detached enough, however, to feel from early childhood the holy wrath from which she is so blissfully free. I believed then as I do now in the fundamental Christian doctrine that wealth is a presumption of guilt. So I became an educator and a reformer. Morally, I chose the better part; or was chosen: I could not otherwise. Artistically, how gladly I would give my twenty serious volumes for this one warm and luminous book! ALBERT GUERARD

Films

MANNY FARBER

THOUGH "The Member of the Wedding," Carson McCullers's prize-winning play about the last days of childhood, betrays its stage origin on the screen, it has been made into a somewhat amusing, and moving, sometimes improbable picture. Stanley Kramer has a trick way of opening his productions with a pastoral scene followed by a sustained shot of the star walking toward the camera: this one starts at a fishing wharf, follows Julie Harris home, and anchors itself in an ugly Southern kitchen where a small social circle—a tomboyish girl, her seven-year-old cousin, and the family cook—is viewed battling loneliness in a way that sometimes harks back to Saroyan or Tarkington types of humor. One of the funnier scenes has to do with a three-handed bridge game; they sit around the table with much concentrated clumsiness and dreamy domestic relaxation, with two of the players moaning about the "rotten hands" until it develops that the solemn little boy cut up the picture cards because they were so "cute." Eventually, melodramatic things begin to happen—the boy dies, the cook's nephew is sent to the pen, the girl runs away from home—and then, for no reason at all, the movie ends.

An interesting feature of the film is that it makes use of a television-type

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shot—the very close close-up of an active breathless face against a blacked-out background such as turns up in Gillette's prize-fight programs. With intimate, revealing image-maneuvers like this, the movie attempts both to break its bondage to the play and to penetrate a visual sphere new to movies. It starts drifting in a strange sea made up simply of motion and anatomy on a superrealistic level; you are practically on top of the human figure when, trapped in the most intense motion and feeling, it is cut off from the surrounding things that make life seem ordinary and fairly secure. And you are devoured by a rather plain twelve-year-old girl, her bound-in misery, her perspiring intensity, her boniness and impulsive hair cut.

This is a good example of a "director's picture," crammed with vivid details none of which falls quietly into place. The main character, the gawky girl, is an unspectacular sort who suffers from every stigma known to childhood, and Director Zinnemann allows Julie Harris to play the role in the manner of a cannibal chewing up a rare hunk of beef. Along with her flexible voice, which blends Baby Snooks with a sour, muted violin, she has an elegantly active pair of hands which clutch, pluck, drum, and posture in a rhythm that is peculiarly out of key with the rest of the acting, talk, and atmosphere. While Miss Harris eats a bit of stew like Marlon Brando playing an eccentric Bennington College student, Zinnemann brings out a small, select group of weird people. Among them are a smooth Harlem-type dresser who doesn't feel conspicuous carrying an unboxed silver trumpet through a small town and a silly child who minces about the room like the most professional Mae West impersonator.

When the more normal characters encounter abnormal behavior (the girl's determination to go along on her brother's honeymoon), they provocatively shift into the unreasonable—that is, the father brutally yanks the girl out of the car and throws her on the sidewalk, where she is stared at unmercifully by queasy neighbors. It is as though Zinnemann, along with a lot of his sensitive colleagues—Kazan, Wilder, *et al.*—tried to show only the oddest members of the human race.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

THE soloists in the performance of Handel's "Israel in Egypt" issued by the Bach Guild are not as good as they should be; but their arias and duets are fewer and less important than the superb choral sections, which are sung well by the combined Berlin Chamber Choirs with good playing by the Berlin Symphony under Helmut Koch's direction. We are informed that some passages are omitted that were not originally composed for the work, and others omitted "in accordance with usual practice"; and I would question the omission of what Tovey describes as "a great burst of slow eight-part harmony" to the words *And Israel saw that great work* . . . The original English text and the German of the performance are supplied.

The Bach Guild offers Schütz's St. Matthew Passion with the same combined choral groups and for the most part better soloists, including the tenor Max Meili as the Evangelist, conducted again by Koch. I have found the long stretches of recitative with brief choral episodes uninteresting; but the Symphoniae Sacrae Nos. 9 and 10 sung by Meili with strings and organ on the fourth side are more engaging.

Of the Bach Cantatas Nos. 122 "Das neugeborne Kindlein" and 133 "Ich freue mich in dir" on another Bach Guild record I find the second moderately engaging, the first not. The soloists and Vienna Kammerchor and State Opera Orchestra under Michael Gielen's direction are excellent.

Bach's Ascension Oratorio, the Cantata No. 11 "Lobet Gott in seinen Reichen," of which there is a performance in English with beautiful singing by Kathleen Ferrier on a London record, is now to be had in German on a Lyrichord record. Again it is only the choral passages, and especially the closing chorale fantasy, that I find impressive. The soloists, except for the tenor whose singing lacks force, the Swabian Choral Singers, and the Stuttgart Bach Orchestra under Hans Grischkat's direction are very good.

The Motets for Christmas and other

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festivities by Victoria, Palestrina, Byrd, Weelkes, and others on a Lyrichord record are lovely; but the shrillness and tremulousness of the sopranos of the Welch Chorale get to be fatiguing.

EMS has issued a group of lovely canzonets by Farnaby, sung well by the Oriana Singers under Charles M. Hobbs's direction, and several charming Farnaby pieces for virginals, played very beautifully by Blanche Winogron.

London offers a number of Schubert songs, ranging from the well known and beautiful "Nacht und Träume," "Der Jüngling an der Quelle," and "Der Jüngling und der Tod" to the less familiar and less interesting "Der Schiffer" and "Ganymed," sung well by Gerard Souzay with good accompaniments by Jacqueline Bonneau.

And London gives us Mahler's "Das Lied von der Erde" performed with impressive mastery by Bruno Walter with Kathleen Ferrier, Julius Patzak, and the Vienna Philharmonic. Hearing the work again after a considerable interval I have been struck as before by the way Mahler's mind is always working, and always with freshness and individuality, and how by this constant activity it holds interest even when it is excessively long-winded, as in the closing song of the work.

The activity is most evident and fascinating in the sparing and fastidious use of the enormous orchestra; and the first thing to mention about the performance is the remarkably beautiful playing of the Vienna Philharmonic, which is reproduced with a clarity in quiet and space, a fidelity to the original sound—including this time the sound of violins—that make this, for me, London's highest recording achievement to date. The slight distortion of Ferrier's beautiful voice in the last climax is negligible; but Patzak's struggle with an old voice is a major defect in the three songs in which he sings. The orchestra is not as superbly reproduced in the 1936 Columbia performance; but Kullman's singing is better, and Thorborg's has, in addition to its beauty, an expressive intensity that is lacking in Ferrier's.

On the fourth side of the London records Ferrier sings three of Mahler's Rückert songs with the orchestra—"Ich bin der Welt abhanden gekommen," "Ich atmet' einen Lindenduft," and "Um Mitternacht."

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

A Concerned Reader

Dear Sirs: Your announcement of forthcoming changes in *The Nation,* including the departure of Margaret Marshall as book editor, raised certain doubts in some of your readers' minds, and the reference to these changes in the January 19 issue of *Time*—however distorted it may prove to be—converted these doubts into suspicions. Please do not consider this letter as a "protest" but as an expression of fear which I sincerely hope will prove unwarranted.

For some time I have been disturbed by the tone and attitude of a number of your political writers; I shall try to illustrate by an example which seems typical (let me make clear that I do not wish to quarrel with one particular writer). The January 17 issue contains a piece on the Point 4 program by Paul A. Baran, who uses a few legitimate and important criticisms of Point 4 as the basis for a vitriolic attack on the whole program, conducted in a tone of hostility clearly excessive for the facts presented. His article carries, from the outset, the assumption of an entente between writer and reader that Point 4 is just another corrupt capitalistic plot whose sole intention is to exploit colonial peoples for the benefit of Western reactionaries, while it is being presented in a benevolent guise to deceive unsuspecting progressives. (Reread just the opening two sentences, for example, and note the powerful and uncalled-for loading against Truman.) The crudity of this sour and "alienated" point of view has been matched too often, I think, by other of *The Nation's* political articles.

As long as more rational liberal criticism of American policies appears in *The Nation* the magazine will be worth supporting. And *all* the points of view the magazine presents will get consideration from readers like myself. But the best writing and thinking now appear to be concentrated in the "Books and the Arts" section. Without the book columns—and drama and music—of the present *Nation* I doubt if I should continue my subscription.

And the over-all appearance and effect of *The Nation,* should the book section be cut down or changed, may be sufficiently altered, it seems to me, so that many people who do not now go along with *Time's* view of *The Nation's* editorial policies, and who do buy the magazine primarily for the news and editorial features, may decide the new *Nation* is less valuable, narrower in viewpoint, than the old. . . .

A new format that cuts printing costs and enhances the physical appearance of the magazine—particularly your unfortunate covers—seems like a good idea, but "economies in space and personnel" that cut down the present book section seem foolish from *any* viewpoint. Time for a change? If Miss Marshall, "an able and discerning critic," as you say, "has been responsible for the integrity and high standards maintained by the book section," what better way to carry out "the firm intention of the editors to preserve those standards" than by retaining Miss Marshall? Please reconsider.

Cambridge, Mass. PAUL BERTRAM

[Time's *story was a distortion. Its editors asked for and received from us a detailed statement on the changes* The Nation *was planning. They ignored it except for the word "economy," which they put in quotes, and played up the untrue implication that Miss Marshall was dropped because of political differences. The single motive behind the staff reductions was a need with which we could no longer temporize, to cut costs: politics had nothing to do with the case, as we hope to prove week by week. Beginning February 21 the book section will appear in a new form but will be fully as authoritative and independent as it has been throughout its honorable history. We suggest that the author of the above letter and other anxious readers withhold judgment until the evidence is in.*

We consider Mr. Bertram's criticism of Professor Baran's article a bit "loaded" —as he does the article itself. We expect, however, to print a full discussion of this controversial piece in a later issue.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Where the Democrats Erred

Dear Sirs: The really blunt fact for the man who voted for the Democratic Party in 1932 and 1952 to face is not that the party had been in power for twenty years, but that he is twenty years older, and the things that caused him to vote as he did then do not apply in the same way now. It is well, of course, not

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to forget 1932, but there were many Democratic strategists who could think of nothing else. This was one of the major reasons why the Democrats didn't win the last election. It seems to me that among the other important reasons are these:

First, the Republicans took the initiative on the issues. "Korea, communism, and corruption" was the simplified spelling for the confusion that dominated the thinking of most voters. That the issues were inaccurately defined, or at best oversimplified, was not important to the majority of voters. It was enough that the Republicans had set forth on a "crusade" to clear up the confusion.

The Democrats were forced to fight the campaign on the stage set by the Republicans. No other stage was possible, since the Republicans had chosen the most comprehensive setting and the most powerful psychological symbols. In this setting, basic principles (which have been the Democrats' *tour de force* for twenty years) were lost. Adlai Stevenson did an incredibly astute job of "talking sense" to the American people, but on a stage of overwhelming nonsense. Had the Democrats taken the initiative themselves and defined the issues more properly, had Stevenson earlier in the campaign dealt forthrightly and aggressively with the real issues behind Korea, communism, and inflation, he might have won.

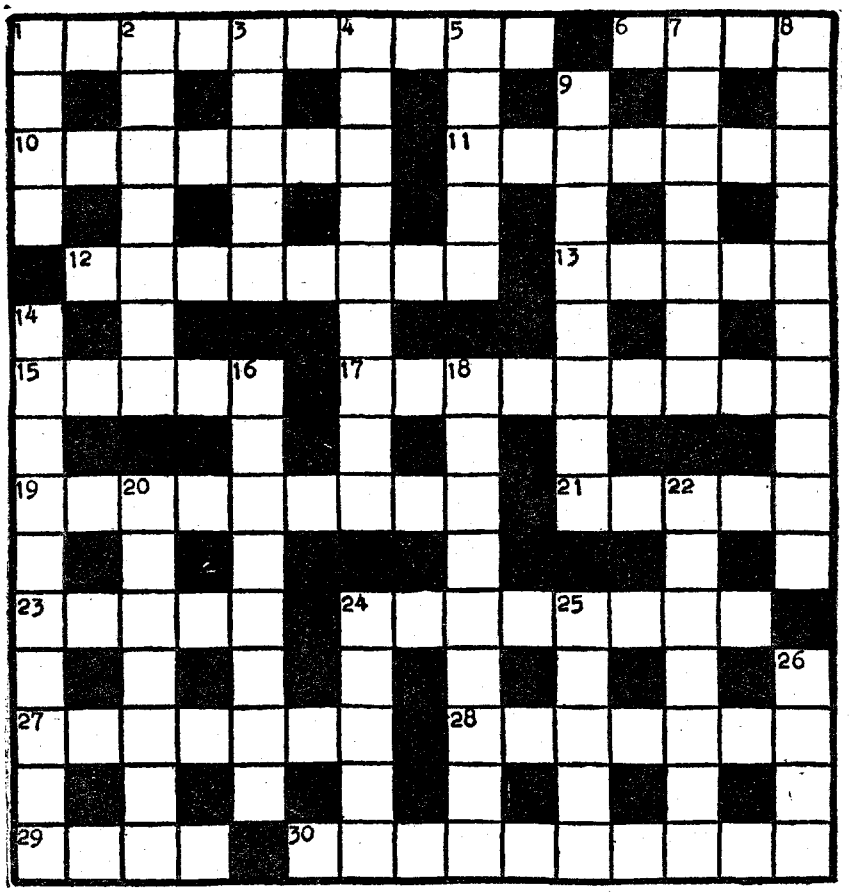
Second, the real issues were far more complex than the majority of American voters were willing to admit. Behind Korea there are innumerable problems of principle, strategy, and tactics, of organization, of diplomacy. Behind communism there is the whole problem of world revolution and progress, freedom and coercion, the responsibility of the United States to the peoples of the Asiatic and free Western worlds. Behind corruption there are the problems not merely of private and public morality, but the morality of competitive economic and political patterns and practices. The average man senses all this but is not ready to admit it. He grasps at any straw in the wind that promises to reduce this complexity to simple terms. Eisenhower's promise to go to Korea offered the voter a dramatic and simple way out of a complex situation.

The Democrats in the person of Stevenson offered wisdom, courage, and faith to combat these problems while the Republicans offered chiefly expediency.

Third, the Republican definition of the issues capitalized on the average voter's fears and prejudices. Expediency

Crossword Puzzle No. 501

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 If the first hyphen were a comma, it could be dramatic action on the side. (4-2-4)
6 Look especially at each end! (4)
10 and 23 But don't afterwards, if you want to get home safe. (5, 2, 5)
11 The G.I.'s hard at work on K.P., perhaps. (7)
12 Shields that give way? (8)
13 Does this water-lover come back to soak? The other way around, rather! (5)
15 What to do with a dog, if small? (5)
17 Calls to account Miss Browning's introductory remark? (9)
19 Represented as being sent very fast. (9)
21 This is more than a round stopper, as an interjection! (5)
23 See 10 across.
24 The expense of plain cotton fabric in Australia? (8)
27 11, in a sense, might be less dirty. (7)
28 An inclination to be an angel in disguise. (7)
29 Sort of weight put on around the middle? (4)
30 False name, or sort of man who looks good in blue? (10)

DOWN

1 See 7 down.
2 To quail, usually before part of those who count. (7)
3 Separate this up, and eat this fast. (5)
4 The way one might call contractions a body of language. (9)
5 This could be the height of sedan construction. (5)
7 and 1 down The sounds of the devil's footsteps? (7, 4)
8 The sort of girl Gladys found in Scandinavian mythology. (10)
9 Sounding agreeable, like an insect on an animal? It's the other way around! (8)
14 Supplements what some people lose in the operation. (10)
16 The chief of South African migrators? (8)
18 Forms both ends of the vertical, but it's just plain lousy! (9)
20 Connected with the charges at kindergarten, perhaps. (7)
22 Bill commonly associated with Dodgson's father. (7)
24 Fixes the rent, perhaps, or confounds the imprecated. (5)
25 The gentleman referred to in 22 feared his might have been injured. (5)
26 Ishmael's mother has no aspiration for culture! (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 500

ACROSS:—1 RECITATIVE; 10 CHIMERA; 11 CLIMATE; 12 PUBLIC PROPERTY; 14 UNRESTED; 15 ORISON; 16 EATING; 18 UNIVERSE; 22 TELLERS WINDOWS; 24 INTONED; 25 ELIDING; 26 EWES; 27 METRONOMES.

DOWN:—1 RECAPTURED; 2 CLIMBER; 3 THE MISSING LINK; 4 TRAMPLE; 5 VICTOR; 7 HEARTHS; 8 SEEM; 9 FIRE PREVENTION; 13 UNDERSIGNS; 17 TRESTLE; 19 and 6 NOW HEAR THIS; 20 RHODIUM; 21 BRIDLE; 23 FINE.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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in 1952 was a live alternative, since the last four years have made the American voter more fearful and prejudiced. Complexity makes for ambiguity, and ambiguity makes for fear. Not to know exactly where one is going or what is to happen creates prejudice against "things as they are." In 1948 the majority of American people were not ready for a change because it was relatively clear where Truman was going, and the majority was content to go with him. In 1952 the Korean war had intercepted the line of direction, and a relatively unknown candidate was the Democratic standard bearer. The disclosures of "scandal" and treason in high places, the rise of McCarthyism which placed almost every public official under suspicion, and the increasing economic tensions represented in the repeated wage-price conflict removed from the voter the props of confidence and stability he had long felt and associated with Democratic leadership.

The Republicans did not need to ask in 1952 as they had asked in 1948, "Had enough?" They had only to exploit the sense of confusion and uneasiness, the prejudice against all that had apparently brought on this state of bewilderment and unrest, and the fear lest it become worse. In promising simply to end the Korean war, to rout the Communist menace, and to clean house the Republicans answered the need and fears of 32,000,000 Americans.

The Democratic Party was not unaware of the existence of these fears and prejudices. But it mistook them to be the same as those current prior to 1932. It was a great mistake of the party to reprint news photos of Hoover breadlines and street-corner apple peddlers and to attack the Republicans for their failure two decades ago. Although the basic Republican philosophy may not have changed, the world and the United States have. The fears and prejudices of that time are not those of 1952. In this respect the Democratic Party revealed its own sense of confusion and betrayed its own principles of creative politics. It should have done far better in exorcising the demons of fear and prejudice, and it could have if it had exorcised itself of the "twenty years ago" nostalgia.

Knowing the basic Republican forces to be anti-social, it is easy to assume that the people were defeated. Yet that remains to be seen. Perhaps the destiny of America will be made more manifest by the enthronement of the very powers that represent a refusal to understand that destiny. This may prove to be liberalism's great opportunity to reanalyze the course of liberalism and revise its patterns—which in many cases have become antiquated and ineffective.

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